

THIRTY-THIRD  
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

PHILADELPHIA

Female Anti-Slavery Society.

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February, 1867.

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**Officers for the Ensuing Year.**

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## REPORT.

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In these revolutionary times, when the weeks and months pass heavily freighted with great events, we commence each year with hope that, before its close, our work will be completed, and our Society justified in ceasing to exist. And though the hour, of the American slave's *full* redemption has not yet struck, we believe it is nigh; and still hope that the year which we commence to-day will usher in its glory.

In our last Annual Report we greeted with joyous All Hail! the Act of Congress endowing the colored men of the District of Columbia with the suffrages of freemen; for the bill had been passed in the House of Representatives, and our glad faith predicted its speedy passage in the Senate. The passage of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, and the Civil Rights Bill, at that time nearly completed, and the apparent determination of Congress to protect the colored man's rights against the violence and cunning of his oppressors, inspired us with hope that they might be found equal to the demands of the hour. The Lost Opportunity of 1865 they could not hope to regain. There was a time when the defeated, humbled South, awed by the power of their antagonists in the field, would have accepted any terms of pardon and restoration to the rights of the States which the United States Government might have imposed for the pro-

tection of the recently-enslaved race. Had the Thirty-eighth Congress seen, with clearer vision, the glorious opportunity which God had given it to uplift two races by enacting equal and absolute justice for both; had it been inspired by stronger faith in principles, and more disinterested love of righteousness, it would have finished in peace the work of emancipation begun in war, and made its name immortal in the annals of legislation. But it let the golden moment pass, never to return, and left the work, which Humanity demanded at its hands, to be done by its successors in circumstances of far greater difficulty, and against stronger opposing forces. The weakness of Congress and the treason of the acting President revived the spirit of the rebels, and a new campaign was soon organized under the leadership of Southern diplomatists and Andrew Johnson, for the purpose of winning back all that the slave-power had lost upon the battle-field. Into this new contest, which the fidelity of the Thirty-eighth Congress might have saved us from, the Nation and its Thirty-ninth Congress entered.

The Freedmen's Bureau Bill, which was on its passage through Congress at the date of our last Report, received the veto of the President; and the effort in the Senate to sustain the bill, against the veto, failed for want of two votes. The Civil Rights Bill met a better fate. Both Houses successfully resisted the opposition of the President to this measure, and carried the bill over his veto.

This triumph of Congress over the spirit of despotism was hailed with thunders of applause in the Senate chamber and hall of Representatives, and with no less hearty delight by the friends of freedom throughout the land. Another bill, to continue in force the bill establishing the Freedmen's Bureau, was sustained, in opposition to another veto, near the close of the session. Our confident hope that the Senate would speedily complete the work which the House began, and invest the colored men of the District of Columbia with power to protect themselves with the ballot, was disappointed; and the first session closed with that duty unperformed. To this neglect was added still more reprehensible action. Bills were passed by both Houses, creating the States of Nebraska and Colorado, under Constitutions which excluded colored persons from exercising the right of suffrage. The action of the President prevented the consummation of the deed, by his veto of one bill, and his withholding the other, which was presented for his signature at the close of the session.

But Andrew Johnson joined hands with Congress, to restore Tennessee to her forfeited rights as a sovereign State in the Union, and to permit her to exclude from the rights of citizenship a class of men who had been true to the Union when she had been false to it; who had fought for the Government when she was fighting against it; who had borne up our country's flag in their dying hands, when she was striving to trample it under her feet. The votes of

twenty-eight Senators against four, and one hundred and twenty-five Representatives against twelve, admitted Tennessee, and the President had no veto for this act.

The cause of Human Liberty was yet more severely wounded in the house of its friends, when the Republicans in Congress carried by large majorities the resolution proposing an Amendment to the Federal Constitution, providing that, whenever the right of suffrage shall be denied by any State "to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens, twenty-one years of age in such State." The first section of the proposed amendment declares all persons, born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, to be citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. The avowed purpose of the proposers of this amendment is to offer a powerful motive to the Southern States to give the ballot to the colored man. The amendment itself says to them: When you shall be restored to a position of power in the Government, against which you have rebelled and warred, the Nation who survived and conquered in that deadly conflict, with the help of your victim race, will, in the hour of her prosper-

ity, deliver up her helpless allies into your hands, to be clothed with the rights of citizenship, if you deem the boon we offer sufficient compensation therefor; or to be denied such rights, and to be placed again under the control of laws made by white men alone, if such shall be your sovereign will.

To appreciate fully this breach of faith with a class of men who battled bravely under the United States flag in the hour of the Nation's extreme peril—this ingratitude to God for our great deliverance from that peril—we must recollect that it was in the power of Congress to propose an amendment to the Constitution which would endow the colored man with the full rights of citizenship, and enable the Federal Government to protect him in their full exercise, and thus deliver him out of the hand of his tyrants, enraged by their defeat on the battle-field. It was also in their power to enact the law which Hon. Charles Sumner proposed in the Senate, February 5th, 1866, and urged with all the zeal and eloquence of his noble soul: a statute declaring that, in the States recently declared to be in rebellion, "*all persons shall be equal before the law, whether in the court room or at the ballot-box;*" and that this statute "*shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any such State to the contrary notwithstanding.*" It was in their power to seize a glorious opportunity, which the revolution had furnished them, to give law to the insurgent States, and wholly wrest from their cruel grasp the helpless

millions whom they had trampled in the dust, and uplift those innocent victims of tyranny—those faithful, heroic allies of the United States Government to the position of American citizens, guarded and crowned with all the high prerogatives of such citizenship. God and humanity demanded this at their hands; and, instead thereof, they practically declared that the country and the Government belong to the white man; and that the colored man is to be legislated for, and otherwise disposed of, in such manner as may best serve the fancied interests of the white race. The Federal Constitution does not suggest the disfranchisement of any portion of the people of the States, and the conclusion is legitimate that all the rights and immunities of citizens flow from acknowledged citizenship. Congress proposes to *amend* the document by adding a clause which, while it declares all persons, born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, to be citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside, intimates that, by incurring a certain loss in representation, any State may exclude from the right of suffrage a large class of its loyal citizens, and that, without such loss, it may exclude another and larger class. With deep regret, we record the fact that Pennsylvania gave her consent to the ratification of this injustice.

Thus ended the first session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, which opened with such brilliant promise. The vital question in the contest between the spirit



of slavery and the spirit of liberty in this nation, viz., Shall the Negro be allowed to protect his freedom with the ballot? they *surrendered* to their antagonists. During the recess came that memorable struggle at the polls, when the men of the North arose in their might, and pronounced their *Verdict* on Andrew Johnson and all his works, and said to Radicalism in Congress, "Be of good cheer; the victory shall be yours, if ye faint not."

When Congress re-assembled in December last, they came armed by the PEOPLE with new power. If, during their previous session, they had hesitated and feared to do the bold deeds for freedom which their hearts prompted, lest they should not stand justified at the People's Tribunal in the approaching Autumn, that fear and doubt was wholly dissipated, and December found them free to inaugurate the wisest measures for securing justice to the colored race which they could devise. God, in His infinite mercy to the Nation, had given them another ample opportunity to atone for some past errors, by wise and just legislation and action; and, once more, our hearts beat high with hope that the disgrace of our country was to be effaced, and the loyal millions, so long the victims of the nation's cruelty, were to be endowed with their rights as freemen and citizens. Their earliest words and deeds confirmed this hope. On the 13th of December, the Senate took up the bill, so long postponed, which gave the ballot to the colored men of the District of Columbia, and passed

it by a vote of thirty-two yeas to thirteen nays. On the 8th of January, this bill, having been vetoed by the President, was passed by both Houses over the veto.\* Bills providing for the admission of Nebraska and Colorado as States in the Union, amended by a "fundamental and perpetual condition," that within those States there shall be no abridgment or denial of the exercise of the elective franchise, or of any other right, to any person, by reason of race or color, excepting Indians not taxed," were passed by both Houses in the month of January. Each of these bills received the veto of the President, and one of them (providing for the admission of Nebraska) was sustained against the veto by a very large number of votes. And among the deeds done for freedom by the Thirty-ninth Congress, we joyfully record the prohibition, in all the Territories of the United States, of the denial of the elective franchise "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude;" and also the passage, by the House of Representatives, of "an Act to explain and enforce the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States;" which forbids the sale of any person, as a punishment for crime, or under any pretence. The most important legislation of the session has been the passage of the Reconstruction Bill.

\* This bill was not that which was passed by the House in its first session, but one which was introduced in the Senate, a few days later. It was passed by the House December 14th, by a vote of 118 yeas to 46 nays.

A bill to provide a temporary military government of the insurrectionary States was reported, on the 6th of February, to the House, by Mr. Stevens, from the Committee on Reconstruction, and subsequently passed by a vote of 109 yeas, against 55 nays; an amendment, offered by Mr. Blaine, providing for the re-admission of said States to Congressional representation on certain conditions, having been voted down by 95 nays against 69 yeas. This bill was returned from the Senate, with some important modifications, and with an additional section, providing:—

“That when the people of any one of the said rebel States shall have formed a Constitution for their government, in conformity with the Constitution of the United States in all respects, framed by a Convention elected by the male citizens of said State, twenty-one years old and upwards, of whatever race, color or previous condition, who have been resident in said State for one year previous to the day of said election, except such as may be disfranchised for participation in the rebellion, or for felony at common law; and when such Constitution shall provide that the elective franchise shall be enjoyed by all such persons as have the qualifications herein stated for electors of delegates; and when such Constitution shall be ratified by a majority of the persons voting on the question of ratification, who are qualified as for delegates; and when such Constitution shall have been submitted to Congress for examination and approval, and Congress shall have approved the same; and when said State, by a vote of its Legislature, elected under said Constitution, shall have adopted the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed by the Thirty-ninth Congress, and known as Article XIV.; and when said article shall have become a part of the Constitution of the United States, said State shall be entitled to representation in Congress, and Senators and Representatives shall be admitted therefrom on their taking the oath prescribed by law, and then and thereafter the preceding sections of this Act shall be inoperative.”

To the bill, thus modified, the House added a provision that, until the rebel States shall be admitted to representation in Congress, any civil government existing therein shall be deemed provisional only, and "subject to the paramount authority of the United States, at any time, to abolish, modify or supersede the same." In this form the bill was passed in the House by 125 yeas against 46 nays, and in the Senate by 85 yeas against 7 nays. The President went through the form of vetoing the bill, and it was immediately passed over the veto, in the Senate, by 38 yeas against 10 nays, and in the House by 135 yeas against 10 nays.

The Thirty-ninth Congress has been made memorable by the fact that one member of the House of Representatives was brave enough, on his own responsibility, in the presence of the House, and before the American People, to impeach Andrew Johnson, acting President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors in office; and to offer a Resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to inquire into the truth of his accusations. This was done on the 7th of January, 1867, by James M. Ashley, of Ohio; and the Resolution was adopted by the House, by a vote of 108 yeas against 38 nays.

The record of the Thirty-ninth Congress being closed, the question naturally arises, Is the slave's freedom completed and secured? Congress has certainly labored towards this end; and a large number of its members have earnestly desired to accomplish

it. They have enacted laws for the security of the personal and political rights of the colored men of the South; they have made it a condition of the return of the rebel States to representation in Congress, that the white and the black man shall stand side by side at the ballot-box; and they have decreed that until that return, those rebellious States shall be under the control of the Federal government. But they have left the execution of all their laws in the hands of a man who responded to them with his veto; who declared the men who were most zealous in their enactment to be traitors and assassins; a man who, sitting in the presidential chair, gave aid and comfort to the murderers in the New Orleans massacre; who revoked a military order which forbade the public whipping of colored men and women in North Carolina; who proclaimed peace when there was no peace; and whose stern purpose is to restore to State sovereignty and Congressional Representation, rebels fresh from the battle-field, so unrepentant of their treason that they still make it unsafe for loyal white men to dwell on their soil, and still treat the negro with insult and cruelty, and who openly boast that they will yet win by diplomacy what they failed to win by the sword. Is the Southern negro's freedom safe under the protection of such an Executive officer? Of Andrew Johnson it may be said that his treachery to his party, his disloyalty to his country, his treason to Humanity have risen to such colossal magnitude that the name of Jefferson Davis dies out of men's

It was in the power of the Thirty-ninth Congress to impeach and depose this occupant of the presidential chair, and they neglected the opportunity. Will their lenity towards him incline him to execute their laws? Let the character of his last veto message answer.

Let us suppose the provisions of the Reconstruction Bill complied with, to the letter. Will the freedom of the Southern negro then be secure? The South, restored to State sovereignty, will no longer be within the control of the Federal government, excepting for the enforcement of the requirements of the Federal Constitution; and each State may, at pleasure, change her Constitution and deprive the negro of the ballot which she was compelled to give him in order to obtain her State Sovereignty; for this condition is not made "fundamental and perpetual," as it is in the bill which admitted Nebraska into the Union. Or, without such Constitutional change, Southern ingenuity will not find it difficult to evade the obligation by the passage of laws which will, really though not ostensibly, disfranchise the colored man. An indication of what may be expected of those States is furnished in North Carolina, where negro men and women are publicly whipped in the most cruel manner, for slight offences, in order to disqualify them for voting at some future day; there being a law of that State which deprives a person, who has been publicly whipped, of the right to vote.

The temper and spirit of the leading white classes

in the rebel States is a continual warning to us not to trust the freedom of their colored population to such protection. The testimony of Gen. Howard is that the large body of Southern men "disbelieve in freedom for the negro;" that "they surrender slavery inch by inch and piece by piece; but they will not give it up altogether, until constrained to do it by the power of freedom itself." P. Bonested, Special Inspector for Kentucky and Tennessee, in an official report to Gen. Howard, presents "sixty cases of outrage, in a limited district and period, unparalleled in their atrocity and fiendishness," committed upon freedmen and friends of the freedmen; cruelties "for which, (he states,) in no instance, as developed by the testimony, is there the least shadow of excuse or palliation." And then he adds: "I regret to say that these cases constitute but a portion of the catalogue of cruelties. Of the offences reported, there has been but one arrest by the civil authorities. The arm of the civil law has, however, been brought in requisition, quite recently, to release and protect offenders." Officers of the Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana testify to similar treatment of the negroes there, by the State militia and the civil authorities. The unrepentant spirit of the rebels is clearly indicated in such acts as the unanimous adoption, in the Georgia Legislature, of a resolution expressing their "respect for the character and services of the illustrious prisoner of State, Jefferson Davis;" and by the appointment of such rebels as Lee and Semme

to professorships in Southern colleges. A legitimate result of one of these appointments recently taught the North what degree of protection the colored man might expect when left to the judicial protection of Reconstructed Rebels. A black man in Lexington, Virginia, was shot and killed by one of Lee's pupils. The murderer defended himself, on his examination, by saying that the negro had "insulted" him. Witnesses testified to this fact; and the Judge decided that "the laws of Virginia have always recognized the difference between the white man and the black; that a white man may protect himself from negro insults; and that though the deed was clearly proven, it was the result of the insult, and he should discharge the defendant from custody." The statutes for the government of freedmen, enacted in many of the rebel States, differ very little from the old slave laws. The statutes of Louisiana forbid freedmen employed on a plantation to leave it for the purpose of visiting their friends, and prohibit their friends from visiting them; declare unemployed freedmen who have not made contracts during the first ten days in January, "vagrants," and provide for selling them to planters for one year, or compelling them to work upon the public roads or levees without contract or fair wages, unless the "vagrant" can give security for good behavior in such a sum as any Justice may choose to demand. This code also provides for the punishment of persons for "tampering with, enticing away, *harboring*, or *feeding*, or *se-*



creating laborers, servants, or apprentices." It requires that freedmen shall carry passes.

Mississippi legislates for her freedmen thus:

*"Be it enacted, That all the penal and criminal laws now in force in this State, defining offences and prescribing the modes of punishment for crimes and misdemeanors committed by slaves, free negroes, or mulattoes, be and the same are hereby re-enacted and declared to be in full force and effect against freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes, except so far as the mode and manner of trial and punishment have been changed or altered by law."*

The Florida Legislature has put the colored population of that State entirely at the mercy of the white citizens, by arming the latter and disarming the former; by prescribing the lash as a penalty for trifling offences; by enacting that "failure to perform work assigned to him," "violation of contract," "disrespect to the employer or his agent," shall be crimes for which negroes may be sold into servitude for one year.

In Kentucky, Judge Harbeson pronounces the Civil Rights Bill unconstitutional, and asserts that a law of Congress cannot annul the laws of that State. In view of such legislation and decisions, we hear without surprise that in North Carolina six hundred negroes, some of whom were twenty-one years of age and supporting themselves, were seized by the police, torn from their homes, and bound out as apprentices by the County Court; and that in Georgia a colored missionary, preaching to the people of his own race, and amply sustained by the Georgia Equal Rights Association, which receives its funds from the North,

was arrested as a *vagrant*, and sentenced to the chain-gang for twelve months.

It is true that the practical operation of some of these infamous statutes is occasionally interrupted by the officers of the Freedmen's Bureau, or the military forces of the United States, where their power is sufficient for successful interference; but not the less on this account does such legislation clearly prove that the negro's freedom will be utterly sacrificed if left in the keeping of rebel States. From the tragedies of Memphis and New Orleans, voices of agony cry to us in warning and appeal, and adjure us by all that is sacred in human liberty, by all that is dear to human hearts, to complete the deliverance of the American Slave.

We may not shut our eyes and ears against the unwelcome testimony that slavery has not actually wholly ceased to exist in the land from which it has been legally and constitutionally banished. The loyal Southern men who, at the peril of their lives, assembled in this city, a few months since, and appealed to the North to stand by them in their fierce conflict against despotism, solemnly declared that the negro in the South has, "by the severest penalties, been made a *serf in the name of freedom*."

Gen. Hamilton, Provisional Governor of Texas, says: "Let us not flatter ourselves that slavery no longer exists."

In Maryland, a sheriff advertises the public sale, for six months, of a negro man, convicted at the

October term, 1866, of the Anne Arundel county Circuit Court for larceny, and sentenced by the court "*to be sold as a slave.*" And we hear of negroes sold as slaves in Alabama, at prices which indicate an expectation, on the part of the buyers, of being able to hold them. In other Southern States, also, planters, relying on the fatal exception in the Amendment which prohibited slavery, and upon the public sentiment around them, are supplying their plantations with laborers by purchasing men and women sold for crime, and working them under the lash as slaves.

For a remedy for all this we look in vain to the Executive Department of our Government. In that quarter there is no more desire to do justice to the freedmen than there was a year ago when Gen. Saxton was removed from his post in South Carolina, because of his stern loyalty to freedom, and his vigilant care of the black man's rights; and when the Government cruelly broke its promise to the Sea Island Freedmen, who implicitly trusted its assurances respecting the homes which they were so industriously creating. Nor can we rely on the Judicial branch of the Federal Government in this great conflict between the spirit of slavery and the spirit of Liberty. Recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have startled the Nation, awakening alarm among the friends of freedom, and inspiring with joy the rebels and their Northern allies.

The colored man's right to the ballot is now generally conceded by the loyal Northern press; and the

necessity of its exercise by the legally emancipated slave, in order to secure his personal freedom, is far more extensively felt and acknowledged than it was a year ago.

During the last year Philadelphia has been the seat of two memorable Conventions. One was composed of loyal men of the South, who came hither to find an atmosphere in which they might freely speak the burning thoughts which they had found it unsafe to utter at home. They came to tell the North their experience of despotism, and to confer with one another respecting the most efficient method of resisting it. The other was composed of unrepentant rebels and their allies, who gathered for the purpose of making a demonstration which should overawe the loyal citizens of the North and strengthen Andrew Johnson in his policy. The reception which Philadelphia gave to these two Conventions may be regarded as a foreshadowing of the fate of the two principles which they represented. This is the deliberate, solemn testimony of those loyal men whose lives had been spent in the presence of the system of slavery, and who knew whereof they affirmed: "There can be no safety for the country against the fell spirit of slavery, now organized in the form of serfdom, unless the government, by national and appropriate legislation, enforced by national authority, shall confer on every citizen in the States we represent the American birthright of impartial suffrage and equality before the law."

Yet Northern politicians, delegated to welcome them, besought them to repress their official utterance of this testimony. Of those politicians Gov. Hamilton thus speaks :

"When we met in Convention, we loyal men of the South, expected no obstruction to an outspoken expression of feeling. Judge of my surprise and disappointment when I found here a few Northern men who thought more of their own election to Congress than they did of alleviating our condition at home. They said that if we expressed ourselves in an open manner they feared they would lose their elections in the North. But we have no such fears. We are anxious to do impartial justice to all men ; placing ourselves upon the broad rock of eternal truth."

We quote one more witness, eminently qualified to testify on this subject. Henry Winter Davis writes :

"The negro population must be recognized by the President and Congress as an integral part of the *people* of the State, in the view of the Constitution of the United States, without whose concurrence and full participation in power no State government will be recognized in any State which rebelled ; or it will remain ostracised and outcast for another generation, and the enemies of the government will wrest it from those who saved it."

Congress, by its recent action, responds to the truth of this testimony. But the ballot can be *secured* to the freedmen, only by the Federal Constitution and an Executive Officer loyal to that Constitution. To obtain such amendment of the Constitution as will secure it is the work of the present hour. The Fortieth Congress has already assembled. The People's voice has bidden it go forward in the work of executing justice for the negro. If it would justify itself to the Nation which has elected it, to Humanity which waits with eager hope for its action ; if it is

not wholly blind to its tremendous responsibility and glorious privilege, it will faithfully use the grandest opportunity which the Providence of God ever gave a Nation's Legislature to decree and establish righteousness. It will present to the People, for their ratification, such an Amendment to the Constitution as will give the ballot to the negro and enable the Federal Executive power to defend him in the exercise of it; and it will remove from the Presidential office the man who has defied its laws and betrayed the Nation.

To urge upon the people and their representatives this duty of securing by Constitutional decree the right of the freedman to protect himself by the ballot is the present duty of Abolitionists. Our work will not be done until the millions, for whose redemption from bondage we have toiled, and prayed, and fought against principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, are delivered out of the control of their masters and brought within the full protection of the power of the United States. For this, irreversible guaranties must be demanded, and until these are obtained we are pledged to the faithful advocacy of their cause, and may not leave this for other work. No schemes of reconstruction which will leave their highest right of citizenship at the mercy of State legislation or action, after the Southern States shall be restored to sovereignty, will we accept in their name; no endowments of land; no bounteous gifts of education, needful as these are, and

blessed in the giving and receiving, will *satisfy* our demand in their behalf. We demand of the Nation that these victims of its own injustice shall be invested with a freeman's power to protect their own freedom.

Nor can we delegate our work to any political press or party, marvellous as has been the moral growth of some of these during the past year. The constant temptation of a political party is to sacrifice its principles to its existence. Martyrdom for its faith is no part of its creed or practice. An impending election confuses its moral perceptions and paralyses its best purposes. We have found leaders of the Republican party in the House of Representatives yielding to the temptation to vote for the admission of Tennessee;\* and in the Senate we saw the entire body of Radical members, excepting Charles Sumner and B. Gratz Brown, following Senator Wade in the same path of compromise with wrong. We have heard the *Tribune*, and other organs of the Republican Party, advocate reconstruction on the basis of the Constitutional Amendment, which allowed the exclusion of the freedman from the ballot-box; and we dare not leave the negro's cause in their hands.

We hail with joy all the tokens of the Nation's moral progress which the last year has revealed. We give thanks for every onward, upward step which Con-

\* The twelve members of the House who voted in the negative were Messrs. Alley, Benjamin, Bontwell, Elliot, Higby, Jencks, Julian, Kelley, Loan, McClurg, Paine, and Williams.

gress has taken ; and gratefully record the decision of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, and the legislative action of Nebraska and Tennessee, conferring suffrage on the colored men of those States ; the proposal in the Missouri Senate to banish the word "white" from the Constitution of that State ; and the declaration of the South Carolina Legislature that the colored people of that State shall be admitted to the enjoyments of the same *civil* rights as those of the white population. We rejoice in the fact that the issues in the great contest are more and more sharply defined ; that the monstrous eachery of Andrew Johnson, and the rejection by the rebels of the terms proposed in the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, have elicited from Congress requisitions of higher justice for the freedmen. Our sympathetic condolence with the Radical party in Maryland, over their defeat, was quickly turned into congratulation that that defeat elevated them to a higher platform, whence they unfurled the banner of "impartial suffrage and equal laws," and proclaimed that though beaten they were "not conquered."

Among the signs of the times which mark the progress of public sentiment, we notice the election of colored men to the Legislature of Massachusetts, and the nomination of Wendell Phillips for Congress in the city where, a few years ago, the slave-power, impersonated in a brutal mob, sought his life.

A Convention of Southern gentlemen, very recently slaveholders, listening with respectful attention to



the arguments and exhortations of Frederick Douglass and Anna Dickinson was not only a thrilling scene, but a fact of great national significance.

During the past year we have pursued our work in joyful hope that its full consummation is at hand, and cheered with rich harvests from earlier sowing. The chief instrumentality upon which this Society has, during this year, relied for the promotion of our cause, has been the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, and towards the support and circulation of that journal our funds have been mainly appropriated. Conducted with great ability, uncompromisingly advocating and persistently demanding absolute justice and, consequently, full citizenship for the legally emancipated slave, that journal has a strong claim upon every abolitionist and every friend of the freedman, for liberal support. The most radical members of Congress testify to the importance of its influence. The success of our Festival of the Friends of Freedom, held in the month of January, enables us to increase our contribution to its support, either directly, or indirectly through our own State Society. We have sent to Congress petitions for such amendment to the Constitution as is necessary to complete the freedom of those for whom we have so long labored: and we have from time to time uttered through the press our protest against injustice on the part of the Government, or our grateful acknowledgment of triumphs won for freedom.

The exclusion of colored persons from our city

railroad cars, against which this Society and many of our fellow-citizens have for many years remonstrated, is still suffered by public opinion and not prevented by our courts. We could fill these pages with thrilling narratives of cruel outrages perpetrated upon colored men and women, by our city Railroad Companies, through their employees, during the past year. One of the most wanton of these outrages was practically sanctioned by Judge Thompson, in the Supreme Court at Nisi Prius, when he granted a nonsuit in the case, on the ground that the Railroad Company was not responsible for the injuries sustained by the colored woman at the hands of their car driver and conductor.

A committee of gentlemen appointed at a public meeting, held in this city two years ago, remonstrated with the Directors of the Companies, and appealed to Mayor Henry, in one case of ejection of a colored man from a car. The Mayor explicitly informed them that he did not sympathize with their efforts, for he did not wish "*the ladies of his family to ride in the cars with colored people.*" Possibly he was not fully conscious that he was thus condemning the ladies of other families to be pushed with brutal violence from the cars to the street pavement. The appeals of the Committee to the Railway Companies seemed to be attended with little better results, and according to the published testimony of Mr. Benjamin Hunt, the Committee themselves "failed to be true to their trust when tried by the test of party

politics." On this subject the churches and clergy of this city have signally failed in their duty. Eager, zealous, prompt to do battle against the running of our city cars on Sunday, they have scarcely been disturbed by this wicked and cruel practice of excluding their fellow-citizens and fellow-christians from those cars on account of their complexion. Had they made half the effort to abolish this practice, which they have made to prevent the running of Sunday cars, it would have ceased long ago. But the steady though slow improvement in public opinion has, during the last winter, influenced our State Legislature, and the Senate has passed a bill prohibiting, under severe penalties, the exclusion of any person, on account of color or race, from any passenger car belonging to any Railway Corporation in this State; or the compelling of any person, on such account, to occupy any particular part of said cars. The passage of this bill in the House and its ratification by our Governor are confidently expected, and we trust that Philadelphia will very soon cease to be a disgraceful exception among Northern cities in this regard.\*

Our criticism of the course of the clergymen of our city, relative to this matter, would be incomplete if unaccompanied with honorable notice of a few who have been faithful found among the faithless. Three clergymen, whose names are connected with three different ecclesiastical sects, but whose works prove

\* Since this Report was presented, this bill has become a law.

that they all belong to that church wherein is known neither Jew nor Greek, bond or free, "but all are one in Christ Jesus," have made their pulpits places for the rebuke of popular sins and the advocacy of unpopular righteousness. The persecuted colored man of this country has reason to remember and to bless the names of Rev. William H. Furness, Rev. B. F. Barrett, and Rev. Phillips Brooks.

Grateful acknowledgements are also due and are freely rendered to *The Press* and *Evening Bulletin* of this city for their faithful advocacy of the right of the colored population to the use of our railway cars, and their burning rebukes of the manner and wickedness of the denial of this right.

Nor do we forget the honored names of men who in another field have fought valiantly for the freedom of the slave, and for the full protection of that freedom; who, in our legislative Halls, have resisted schemes of injustice, and have urged with untiring persistence the claims of the weak and helpless. We have frequently recorded upon the pages of our Report the names of such members of Congress; but the roll of honor now, happily, numbers too many for us to transcribe them all, and to select a few would be invidious. The thanks of abolitionists, and the blessings of those who were ready to perish, rest upon them.

We rejoice in the widely-extended benevolence which has supplied the treasuries of the Freedmen's Associations; and in the abundant labors of those

Associations, which seek not only to feed and clothe the freedman, but to educate him to perform the high duties of citizenship.

From our stand-point of to-day, looking backward and forward, joy, gratitude, hope and faith struggle with one another for utterance. The triumphs of our cause loom up so grandly before us; the dawn of America's jubilee has burst with glory so transcendent upon our sight, that our long warfare against slavery almost seems as "a dream when one awaketh." In these triumphs we see the promise of complete victory. Joy and gratitude inspire us with strength for the work which yet remains for us to do. Memories of fellow laborers who toiled with us through days of darkness and peril, and who hailed with us the glorious dawning before they passed away, bid us be faithful unto the end. One valued member of this Society, a true friend of the slave, an earnest champion of Truth and Right, has, since our last anniversary, heard the call, "Come up higher!" and passed away, leaving in many hearts precious memories of her noble life.\* And one who, in the earlier years of our enterprise, was abundant in labors with us, has faithfully finished her earthly course, and received the reward of a commission to nobler service.†

The complete and final victory of our cause is certain. We believed this in its darkest days; we are not less assured of it, now, when faith is changing to sight. The light which, from around and above us,

\* Mary C. Wright.

† Sarah Lewis.

is poured upon our path, throws its beams far into the future, and in that light we see our beloved country purged from all stains of oppression, emancipated from all bonds of caste, regenerated by supreme love of justice, ruling itself in righteousness, and sending up to heaven, from every hill and valley across the broad continent, the acceptable worship of a "People whose God is the LORD."

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*Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in account with*  
ANNIE SHOEMAKER, *Treasurer.*

1866.	DR.	
To Rent of room for Annual Meeting.....		\$ 5 00
" Printing Annual Report.....		45 50
" Advertising.....		95
" Subscription to National Anti-Slavery Standard, (50 copies).....		150 00
" Rent of room for Stated Meetings.....		9 00
2d mo., 1867. Balance in Treasury.....		403 21
		<hr/>
		\$618 66

1866.	DR.	
By Balance in Treasury.....		\$ 9 09
" Members' Subscriptions.....		86 00
" Donations.....		19 00
" Sale of Articles left from Fair.....		95
" Donation from Pa. A. S. Society.....		100 00
1st mo., 1867. Proceeds of Festival.....		403 62
		<hr/>
		\$618 66

LYDIA GILLINGHAM, *Auditor.*

## REPORT OF THE FESTIVAL COMMITTEE.

The Committee appointed by the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society to make arrangements for a Festival of the Friends of Freedom, to be held in the month of January, 1866, respectfully report:

That the evening of the 17th of January was selected for the occasion; and two hundred and fifty circulars were distributed in the City and County, requesting contributions of money and provisions; and two thousand circulars of invitation were printed for distribution. Applications were personally made some of the Caterers of this city, several of whom promptly responded by offers of liberal assistance and generous supplies. Mr. J. W. Price, Messrs. Johnson and Osborne, and Mr. William Dorsey relieved the Committee of a large share of labor in the Refreshment Department of the Festival; and many friends of the cause, in the country, and a few in the city, sent liberal contributions of provisions and money.

The Festival was held on the evening of the 17th of January, in National Hall, Market Street; and, though the weather was very inclement, so large a number of persons were in attendance that, but for the great size of the hall, the guests would have been uncomfortably crowded. The managers were gratified with the result of their efforts. The brilliantly lighted hall with its pictured ceiling, and walls hung with the well known banners which have adorned so many of our Anti-Slavery Fairs; the tastefully arranged table, with its central ornament of a pyramid of flowers, (the gift of Mr. Abraham L. Pennock, Jr., of this city,) produced a fine spectacular effect; while the instrumental music of the Dolmenco Cornet Band, and the songs of Miss Elizabeth Greenfield and her pupils, and the exhibition of the Stereorama by Mr. Edward Parrish and Dr. Hunt, (to the great enjoyment of those who crowded the ante-room,) were added to the social pleasures of the evening.

Among the objects of interest which graced the occasion was the table upon which was signed the Anti-Slavery "Declaration of Sentiments," in December, 1833, in the Adelphi Building in this city, at the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. This valuable historical relic was introduced to the notice of the audience in a few eloquent words by George Thompson.

In an interval between conversation and music, the assembly was addressed by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, J. Miller McKim and Lucy Stone.

Letters were read from Hon. Schuyler Colfax and Hon. John W. Forney, expressing their regret for the necessity of declining our invitation to the Festival.

The abolitionists, young and old, seemed to enjoy heartily this rare opportunity of general social intercourse with so many fellow laborers; and from several absent friends of the cause letters have since been received by the Committee, expressing their great disappointment that the deep snow and violent wind-storm on that day and evening prevented their attendance on the occasion.

The pecuniary results of the enterprise are regarded by your Committee as ample compensation for the labor involved; and as sufficient encouragement for similar efforts in future.

The Receipts were	.	.	.	.	\$689 97
Expenses	.	.	.	.	281 85
Leaving a net profit of					<u>403 62</u>

The experience of your Committee in the management of this Festival has taught them how the expenses might be greatly reduced if a similar occasion should occur in the future.

MARY C. LEE, *Chairman.*